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# Security Sector Reform Trends: Conflict-Affected States and International Responses

Background Paper

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## Executive Summary

This background paper outlines issues that emerged from research commissioned by the Australian Civil-Military Centre (ACMC) in early 2013 to map international perspectives and trends in security sector reform (SSR).

The concept of SSR has evolved over the last two decades to describe a range of efforts to improve the security of a state and its citizens through an effective, affordable, accountable and transparent security sector. In all cases, but particularly for conflict-affected states, SSR is about governance of the security sector. Many Australian government departments and agencies, civil society and other organisations have contributed to SSR throughout the post-Cold War period.

One trend observed in war-to-peace transitions after the Cold War is that the more expansive peace processes that follow complex civil wars still centre on first gaining agreement about future security arrangements. Some of the most common provisions in peace agreements include restructuring the security apparatus, demobilisation, and re-establishing civilian oversight over state security institutions. These ambitious goals mean timing, sequencing and political legitimacy are critical to achieve meaningful reform within and between those institutions. Transitional political arrangements after conflict—in place until the first post-conflict elections—were shorter (under two years) in many cases in the 1990s, and in recent coup cases. However, transitional arrangements have been in place much longer in several recent civil war cases (four to seven years). This has resulted in significant post-conflict strengthening and restructuring of armies and police forces before elected legitimate leaders and parliaments are in place, often embedding the composition of security institutions that were legacies of the conflict. Research points to a more sustainable peace if former enemies are incorporated into, and share power in, state security institutions.

SSR has emerged as one element of a broader set of priorities for countries navigating their return from violent conflict. The research mapped improvements to international responses before and since the landmark Brahimi Report in 2000.

This paper examines the articulation of the SSR concept in the development, peace and security communities. At the time of writing, there were five peacekeeping and five political missions with explicit SSR mandates from the UN Security Council, with the growth of political missions (Libya, Afghanistan, Iraq, Burundi and Nepal) a recent phenomenon. The paper discusses what SSR has come to encompass, including principles that underpin international support. Sovereignty is a fundamental principle for national actors receiving support in this area, and evaluations stress the need to be adaptable and to tailor each program. The politics of funding SSR is also examined, and found to manifestly affect how international actors support SSR. The paper concludes with a summary of the SSR community and its civilian capacity.

# Introduction

## Purpose

Security sector reform (SSR) in conflict-affected states is a key area of focus for the Australian Civil-Military Centre (ACMC).<sup>1</sup> The ACMC commissioned research from January to April 2013 to map international perspectives and trends in SSR. The goal was to inform future work in the field by providing an understanding of the trends and mapping who is doing what and where.

This background paper presents trends across SSR in conflict-affected countries, approaches to supporting SSR, SSR terminology and the politics of funding SSR activities. The paper concludes with an overview of the growth of the SSR community of practice that has emerged in the last decade.<sup>2</sup>

The SSR concept has evolved over the last two decades. It describes a range of efforts to improve the security of a state and its citizens, through an effective, affordable, accountable and transparent security sector. SSR is fundamentally about governance of the security sector. It commonly involves programs aimed at:

- reconstituting and right-sizing the military, police and other uniformed (armed) institutions, and demarcating roles between them
- integrating or returning former combatants to civilian life
- strengthening or establishing effective civilian oversight and decision making over state security institutions, and coordination mechanisms to sustain it
- rebuilding trust between state security institutions and citizens.

When led by national actors, and with coordinated international support, these activities can help sustain peace and reduce conflict relapse.

## Research and methodology

The research was guided by the project terms of reference,<sup>3</sup> and involved key informant interviews with Australian and international experts. The two other components of the research, completed in parallel, were a review of Australian government experiences in security, law and justice, and a review of future options for government policy and practice in SSR. The researchers collected several hundred public documents on international SSR debates, lessons learned, and Australian approaches to security, law and justice (see Annex H: Bibliography).

Between 5 and 8 February 2013, researchers interviewed 42 people in 18 meetings and roundtable discussions held in Canberra. A preliminary report was provided to the ACMC on 15 March, and its findings and options were presented, critiqued and improved in a workshop of 18 government experts on 20 March. From 18 to 21 March, more interviews were conducted through 49 phone calls, email communications, meetings and roundtable discussions. This brought the total number of interviewees

to 80. While each interview was tailored (and non-attributed), interviewees were generally asked three questions: what did they understand by SSR as a concept, including international trends; what were their experiences and lessons on security, law and justice policy and practice in conflict-affected states; and, what did they see as feasible options for the APMC and government to consider developing in the future?

Detective Sergeant Steve Mellick, AFP Seconded at the APMC, coordinated the project. Dr Peter Bartu contributed to the research including interviewing several principals from the Center for Civil-Military Relations at the United States Naval Post-Graduate School in Monterey, California.

# Trends in peace and security: security actors emerging from conflict

*Military-security restructuring is hugely critical to a successful transition, but it is also hugely difficult, because it directly threatens an array of vested interests.<sup>4</sup>*

## Transition, concepts of security, and peace processes

The broader narrative on the emergence of the concept of SSR includes three separate regional transitions:<sup>5</sup>

- efforts to minimise the negative effects of continued military involvement in politics during Latin American wars and democratic transitions in the 1980 and 1990s
- new state and security sector formation in central and eastern Europe after the Cold War and the break-up of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
- armies returning to barracks, and armed groups integrating into state military and police forces and reintegrating into communities in African civil wars.

The rise of more varied concepts of security have also affected SSR, in particular a focus on *soft* ‘human security’ and attempts to re-balance the historical focus on *hard* ‘traditional security’.<sup>6</sup> The *soft* approach stalled to a degree after 11 September 2001, when counter-terrorism efforts returned to ‘state-centric’ security support, including a focus on increasing operational capacity of security and intelligence institutions to address transnational asymmetric threats.<sup>7</sup>

Although each post-conflict state has taken its own path, some trends are evident. One is that complex civil wars have generated complex peace processes, and Comprehensive Peace Agreements (CPAs) have expanded in scope and ambition. Researchers studied 27 peace agreements since 1989 for a 2006–07 World Bank and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Statebuilding project. The researchers grouped and analysed 38 different provisions in these agreements to plot the expanding scope (the number of provisions in peace agreements) and specificity (where actions of the parties to the conflict were subject to benchmarking).<sup>8</sup> As illustrated in Annex A, the research found that these more complex agreements still centred on mediating future security political arrangements between parties emerging from the conflict. Election provisions appeared most often, in 25 agreements. *Security reform* was the second most common provision, in 24 agreements. Of those, all 24 included *restructuring the security apparatus*, 23 included *disarmament and demobilisation*, 17 included *re-integration of ex-combatants*, and 11 included provisions for *civilian oversight of security*.

Not only did nearly all of the 27 agreements researched have at least one of the security provisions, there was also a high degree of specificity where the security sector provisions were subject to benchmarking (see Figure 1 below).<sup>9</sup>

Other recent research concluded, however, that these SSR provisions in peace agreements are often shallow and selective, that there is little consistency, and that specificity doesn't necessarily help implementation. Even in cases with well-articulated reforms spelt out in agreements, some still experienced dysfunctional and predatory security institutions impervious to change and civilian governance.<sup>10</sup>

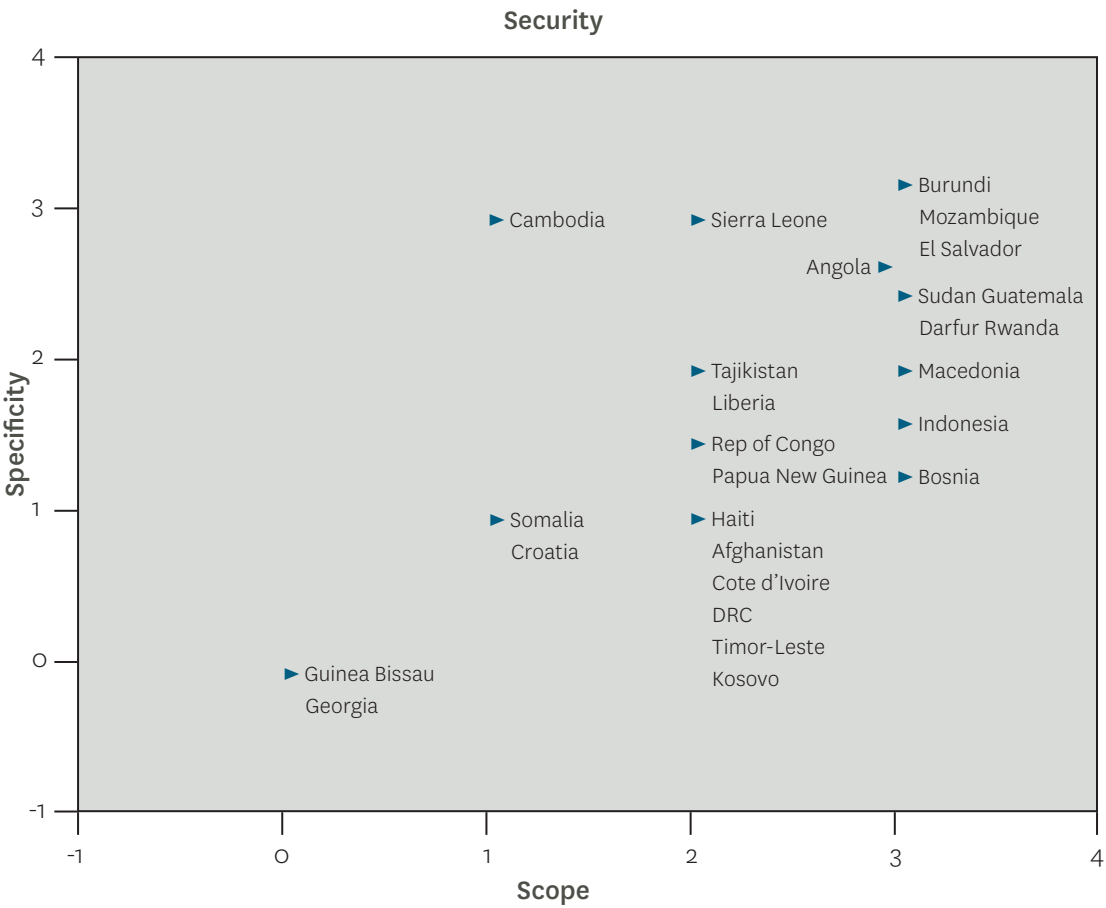


Figure 1: Scope and specificity of security provisions in peace agreements

**The space for reform: transitional political arrangements and legitimacy**

In Collier’s assessment, to break a *conflict trap* and promote rule by consent, ‘the military should be reduced in size [and] there is likely to be a need for an expanded police force to deal with a crime wave as the violent diversify from war to crime’.<sup>11</sup>



When addressing such ambitious goals while negotiating political transitions, the timing and sequencing of different activities become very important. Collectively, all activities have to generate a minimum threshold of political legitimacy to ensure a successful transition, and elections have become one of the principal vehicles to secure that legitimacy. First and subsequent post-conflict elections have also become bellwethers that benchmark consolidation of the peace process and the adjustment, drawdown and withdrawal of peacekeepers.

Transitional political arrangements are measures for governing spelt out in agreements signed by parties to a conflict. Examples of these arrangements are institutional power sharing and transitional government (see Annex A).<sup>12</sup> The arrangements generally last until a full electoral cycle is completed to restore or establish an elected executive and legislature. The length of the transitional period shapes short-term and long-term calculations of national political and security actors. These transitional periods also 'tend to provide the most salient departure point for choices about permanent institutions',<sup>13</sup> potentially setting the conditions for police, defence and other security forces, and civilian overseeing bodies.

In the 1990s, pressure to terminate civil wars led to early first elections, ending transitional arrangements that had been set up in peace processes.<sup>14</sup> Short transition periods provided little space to consider ambitious reform of the governance of the security actors emerging from conflict. In some cases this embedded the existing composition of security institutions that might have contributed to the conflict. For example, it may have embedded compositions based on ethnicity, political affiliation, regional or provincial bias, along socio-economic divides, or where there were convenient business (rent-seeking) partnerships, in particular in controlled territory during conflict.

A similar trend observed in recent cases of coups, or departures from constitutional order, involves the threat or the use of force to seize executive power. Many coups have occurred in conflict-affected countries, and three recent coups—in Kyrgyzstan, Mauritania and Guinea—led to elections in less than two years. Notably, other research identified that while there are fewer coups worldwide than the peak in the mid-1960s, since 2003 there has been a spike of 'successful coups' (12 of 18 coups). The research found that 'professional militaries are often the culprits', but perpetrators have also involved the police, and civilian perpetrators required police support to successfully change a regime. The aftermath of military-led coups likely created 'factions and splits within the leadership', but also resulted in elections (not creating military regimes). The research finds a positive outcome can be attributed to 'international influences' to a significant degree.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, in the last decade transitional political arrangements have lasted significantly longer in several prominent civil war cases, changing the dynamics for reforming security institutions. In five cases these interim arrangements governed the state from between four to seven years, with crises, missed deadlines and extensions beyond original agreement dates.<sup>16</sup> In these cases, national military and police institutions were being reconstituted and rebuilt (not necessarily reformed) in the period before an election could establish political leadership with more legitimacy. Call's analysis looked at experiences of power-sharing compared to power-dividing arrangements. Call found many factors influencing success, noting 'tremendous disparity among scholars'. The analysis concluded that incorporating former enemies into security institutions has produced very positive outcomes.<sup>17</sup>

Through these longer transitional periods, civilian leadership of the security sector was often split between former combatants in power-sharing arrangements, while authority transitioned from the army to the police. As one Australian government interviewee put it, the question is ‘when do the blue take over?’

Even when SSR provisions were included in peace agreements, reform implementation mechanisms with international support were often weak or not present. International peacekeepers were often ‘displacing’ state security institutions, yet these national institutions were still needed to provide basic security, for example, to create an environment conducive to returning refugees and internally displaced people and, in some cases, to conduct offensive operations against non-state actors (such as against spoilers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Afghanistan). Given the more limited political legitimacy and inclusiveness of transitional governments, this provided challenges for national and international actors seeking to improve governance of the security sector.<sup>18</sup> It is particularly challenging, for example, for national leaders to negotiate reduced or changed military powers when the military is conducting operations to prosecute new or old threats to the state.

## Additional trends and lessons from SSR

The following additional lessons emerged from recent efforts to enhance security sector reform in conflict-affected states:

- When designing SSR processes, stay focused on governance, the ‘high politics’ and ‘sector-wide’ levels, and avoid the temptation to descend below the strategic to the ‘component’ and ‘activity’ levels.<sup>19</sup>
- In mediating and implementing SSR, include women and youth as active participants in change, consider a sufficiently inclusive process of consultation that builds trust and a common vision of the role and capacity of all security actors in society, and consider credible third parties, civil society and informed media representatives to monitor and benchmark implementation.<sup>20</sup>
- While implementing SSR, be wary of conflict relapse (the *conflict trap*<sup>21</sup>), continued militarisation of the political environment and *coup d’état*, be alert to spoilers, and secure ‘a monopoly of force [by the] two interlocking processes’ of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) and SSR.<sup>22</sup>
- Spikes in civil disorder, other forms of violence, transnational threats, more organised and capable criminal groups, and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons further complicate reform and change. This creates significant security and disarmament challenges in the years after armed conflict ceases.<sup>23</sup>
- Victims may demand vetting of human rights abusers from reconstituted military and police forces.<sup>24</sup> This may affect reform implementation and, while reform is ongoing, transitional justice processes (truth seeking or prosecutions) could expose past crimes, implicating serving senior officers in defence and police forces.<sup>25</sup>

- National political leaders must focus on both the character and composition of state security institutions as well as the institutions that support them, for example, ministries, audit and ombudsman offices, parliamentary committees, and the national security coordination and policy-making architecture. ‘In short, countries and sub-national areas with the weakest institutional legitimacy and governance are the most vulnerable to violence and instability and the least able to respond to internal and external stresses.’<sup>26</sup>
- Integrate systems and capacity around public administration into SSR—paying police salaries, increasing transparency in the preparation and expenditure of military budgets, and ensuring ministerial and parliamentary oversight to combat corruption—including international efforts in support of improved public financial management. As a World Bank review in Afghanistan declared, ‘there is no justification for treating the security sector as separate or sacrosanct, and not subjecting it to budgetary and fiduciary processes’.<sup>27</sup>

Although this paper is limited to conflict-affected states where a UN or other international mission is deployed, it is worth noting the very broad support for regional and international organisations to invest more fully in mediation and in conflict prevention, across the environmental spectrum. That includes in countries where no international mission is deployed (non-mission settings).<sup>28</sup> Not only is the SSR concept a topic of negotiation between peace process parties in non-mission settings, but many of these countries are also discussed in the UN Security Council. For example, to support the transition and ‘avert civil war’ the Security Council met four times on Yemen in 2012, discussed the transition in monthly Middle East and other high-level meetings, and the International Crisis Group’s most recent report on Yemen is dedicated to SSR.<sup>29</sup>

## Integrate effort, partner and be flexible: SSR as one area of peacebuilding

While SSR is a central pillar of any sustainable political settlement, it is seen as but one element of a broader set of priorities in countries navigating their return from violent conflict. The SSR concept stresses the importance of governance, and includes non-state security actors. Reconciliation between former combatants has therefore been a key aspect of SSR negotiations. SSR approaches also advertise the benefits of a stronger civil society role in providing public scrutiny, and in monitoring human rights violations by security actors. SSR was influenced by the evolving concepts of the rule of law and transitional justice, and came in the wake of failures in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia.

In the words of the landmark Brahimi Report in 2000, ‘Over the last decade the United Nations has repeatedly failed to meet the challenge [of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war], and it can do no better today’.<sup>30</sup> A significant portion of that report dealt with failures in politics, prevention and mediation in dealing with spoilers and other armed groups, and in developing national security capacity that is accountable to citizens, to replace peacekeepers. The report advocated a change in how the international community worked together (for example, to better integrate its efforts) and called for stronger international police mandates and capacities to support reforming, training and restructuring national police forces.

The Security Council, other international and regional organisations, and member states subsequently increased their threshold for intervention (for example, transitional administrations in Kosovo and Timor-Leste). They also began to support a broader spectrum of peacebuilding activities, such as constitutional design and public administration reform (see Annexes A and B). As a concept, SSR was one of the last areas of peacebuilding to emerge, and is strongly influenced by these other processes. In addition, key peace and security lessons identified and developed since the Brahimi Report have strongly influenced all potential SSR support activities that the international community provides. Examples include the need to integrate the efforts of, and partnerships between, national and international actors, to build trust over time, and to have a flexible mindset, structures and funding to respond to unforeseen events.<sup>31</sup>

Five years after the Brahimi Report, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations 2005 initiative ‘Peace Operations 2010’ took stock of the need for a new strategy to support missions, following a five-fold increase in deployed field personnel since 2000. The strategy proposed a new ‘Capstone’ doctrine, new capabilities—in particular the Standing Police Capacity—and improvements to integrating UN work, including in SSR. Between 2009 and 2011, two reports (and associated debates, statements and resolutions from the Security Council and General Assembly) have driven this agenda, with SSR mentioned throughout: *Peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict* and the *International Review of Civilian Capacities*.<sup>32</sup> A key finding of these reports is that assistance from internationals should be more firmly grounded in partnerships, including for SSR activities. These could be through national/international transition compacts, or other agreements and structures that frame international assistance within a national political dialogue and ongoing process of negotiating change.<sup>33</sup>

# Introducing SSR: the OECD, the UN, peacekeeping and political missions

## The OECD—SSR through a development lens

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was instrumental in developing the concept of SSR in the mid-1990s. In 2001 the OECD highlighted the need to support security and justice sectors comprehensively, because they are ‘intimately linked’.<sup>34</sup> In 2005 the OECD-Development Assistance Committee (DAC) released comprehensive SSR guidelines. As a multilateral development organisation, the OECD approached SSR ‘squarely within a development cooperation lens’ and stated that the primary goal of SSR is to ‘create a secure environment conducive to development, poverty reduction and democracy’. However, the SSR guidelines noted that OECD-DAC efforts also sought ‘to improve policies and practices to prevent violent conflict and build peace’.<sup>35</sup>

Between 2004 and 2006 debates about SSR peaked including across the development, peace and security pillars, questioning what SSR was, and was not. At the same time, an emerging SSR epistemic community of practice produced research, guidance and doctrine, new funding arrangements, new specialist units, standby capacities and rosters. In particular, the now 61-member international foundation, the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) significantly contributed to the development of SSR.<sup>36</sup> The World Bank was also rethinking public and military expenditure, transparency and governance, stating that ‘the military sector should be subject to the same general principles of public financial management as other parts of the public sector’.<sup>37</sup>

The development community recently refocused on development-security linkages, and the inability of conflict-affected states and donors to meet the standards set by the 2005 *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*. Much of that debate occurred after the publication of the World Bank World Development Report 2011,<sup>38</sup> through the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding 2009–2011, and with the creation of the g7+ grouping of conflict-affected states, with leadership from Timor-Leste. Following studies in seven of those countries, the reports concluded that national/international partnerships supporting SSR had produced good practices (SSR was a priority in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, for example) but that the support was ‘inconsistent’. The international dialogue concluded with a ‘new deal’ that stressed the need for inclusive politics, and the need to establish and strengthen people’s security in fragile states.<sup>39</sup> The more detailed OECD-DAC SSR handbook produced in 2010 noted also that, during implementation, donors were hampered by their lack of coherent SSR strategies, lack of suitable specialist capacities to help states embarking on reform, and lack of sufficient methods to evaluate the impact of programs.<sup>40</sup>

A 10-year review of OECD security and justice programming identified more specific lessons. This study revealed that external support for security and justice programming needs to be conceived in a way that stimulates and manages change in complex, politicised and fast-changing environments. As a result, programs need to be able to mobilise resources (funding, people, political capital) and find ways of working (flexible, building trust and long-term relationships) that are most effective

in these environments. The review concluded that there is now a good understanding of how to optimise reform and change, with country-specific examples to show how it can be done. However, the research also concluded that change in the security sector often happens as a result of *chance* or *exceptional circumstances* that are more to do with the right national and international personalities having sufficient political backing, and that best practices are not hardwired into the way these types of programs are established or modified.<sup>41</sup>

## Convergence on SSR in the United Nations

SSR was debated first in the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (the C34), with references at least from 2004.<sup>42</sup> The Security Council possibly first addressed SSR in a 2005 thematic debate on 'the role of the Security Council in Humanitarian crises'. The Council emphasised that 'security sector reform is an essential element of any stabilisation process in post-conflict environments', and that the *inextricable* normative links to the rule of law, transitional justice, DDR and the protection of civilians. In the same year the 'Peace Operations 2010' strategy from the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations sought greater capacity for these tasks, including by developing the UN Standing Police Capacity. World leaders' attention to international threats, culminating in the 2005 World Summit, shaped the broader normative debate. These debates resulted in consensus to improve conflict prevention, mediation and peacebuilding, and to develop the concepts of 'protection of civilians' and the 'responsibility to protect'.<sup>43</sup>

These precedents provided an enabling environment for Slovakia to take proactive and deliberate leadership on SSR in preparation for its month as President of the Security Council. Slovakia introduced SSR over six months in 2006–07 through three regional workshops, an *Arria-formula* meeting, and the Council's first thematic SSR debate in February 2007.<sup>44</sup> The United Kingdom was the most supportive of the permanent five members of the Security Council, having championed the concept in preceding years. Acceptance of SSR enabled the terminology to be used more broadly. For example, SSR is included in each Presidential Statement following debates on post-conflict peacebuilding and the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C34) now dedicates a section of its annual report to SSR.<sup>45</sup>

At the request of the Security Council following the first SSR debate in 2007, the Secretary-General wrote a comprehensive report on SSR. The Council discussed the report in a second debate in 2008 under the United Kingdom Presidency and there was a third debate in 2011 under the Nigerian Presidency. In January 2013, the Pakistan Presidency led a debate on multidimensional peacekeeping where, possibly for the first time, a thematic resolution mentioned SSR (this was the first resolution on peacekeeping in a decade). The text in that resolution, copied in part in Figure 3 (in Annex C), importantly also connected the protection of civilians with peacekeeping SSR mandates.<sup>46</sup> The October 2011 Presidential Statement on SSR called on the Secretary-General to submit an assessment of UN support (a second report) by early 2013, and to recommend how to best strengthen the UN's 'comprehensive approach'.<sup>47</sup> A fourth debate was then expected to take place later in 2013.

## The rapid growth of SSR and related mission mandates

In October 2004, before its first thematic mention of SSR, the Security Council had already provided an explicit and expansive SSR mandate to the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). Although few mandates have been as ambitious since, the table at Annex B tailored for this research shows the 10 UN peacekeeping operations and special political missions with explicit SSR mandates. The table maps a range of other related mandates, including in six other missions where SSR activities are also mandated. It shows that SSR and SSR-related mandates are now as prolific as the related provisions in peace agreements outlined above.<sup>48</sup>

The number of SSR mandates has increased in the last decade, as has their range of field mission configurations. As peacekeeping has become more multidimensional (higher numbers and more diverse mandates), new international peacekeeping partnerships have evolved, for example, with other international or hybrid stabilisation forces in Timor-Leste, Afghanistan and Darfur.<sup>49</sup>

## Growth in SSR supported by special political missions

Less well known is the fact that there has been a three-fold increase in field-based special political missions in the last 15 years, with an expanded number and range of mandated tasks. This trend is expected to continue with the drawdown and possible transition to special political mission configurations in several large peacekeeping operations, and ‘a tendency toward lighter UN footprints for new missions’.<sup>50</sup> Special political missions include all four integrated peacebuilding missions in countries on the Security Council’s agenda that are also supported by the Peacebuilding Commission, as well as its regional political offices. In 2010 the Security Council mandated the West African regional political office (UNOWA) to support SSR in that region.<sup>51</sup> Another novel mission was deployed in Nepal (UNMIN) with a mandate to monitor the ceasefire between the Royal Nepal Army and Maoist army. Through a joint committee, the mission monitored the management of arms (through cantonment, registration and verification) and armed personnel. It did this with an integrated team of serving (out of uniform) and retired military officers, and civilian monitors. However, the mission was not given an SSR mandate and departed while ‘the security sector [remained] at the heart of the peace process’s unresolved business’ of integrating Maoist combatants and bringing the Nepalese Army under democratic control.<sup>52</sup>

With no equivalent funding and backstopping arrangements that deploy and sustain peacekeeping operations, there has been a 1,256 per cent increase in special political mission costs in the last decade. This is largely due to assistance missions in Iraq (UNAMI) and Afghanistan (UNAMA).<sup>53</sup> SSR in the context of peacekeeping operations is backstopped by the political and security leverage that comes with each formed military and police unit (from their capital and their commanders in the field), as well as the national interest of each troop and police contributing nation (their contribution to debates in the Security Council, membership of Groups of Friends). These networks are absent in special political missions. Five of the 10 missions with explicit SSR mandates are special political missions. The most recent is the integrated office in Libya (UNSMIL), which has the seventh most mandated tasks of all missions across all categories. UNSMIL’s most recent resolution includes a strengthened SSR mandate for one of the largest integrated SSR divisions in any UN mission.<sup>54</sup>

# SSR terminology: security sector actors, activities and principles

## SSR terminology

While there are varied SSR definitions, there are minimal differences between them. This paper merges several definitions to focus on the SSR goal:

*Security sector reform describes efforts to improve the security of a state and its citizens, through an effective, affordable, accountable and transparent security sector.*

Figure 3 (in Annex C) lists a select number of definitions. Beyond this language, generalisations on security sector actors, principles and activities are difficult in any context, but particularly in conflict-affected settings, given their political volatility and diversity.

Overall, the SSR concept evolved first as a description of what international actors and agencies do in support of national actors, and second as a description of what national actors are seeking to do and to reform after conflict.<sup>55</sup> The OECD described a security *system*, and African civil society actors held that *reform* terminology was too soft when *transformation* was needed to reshape the behaviour of former combatants and their leaders.<sup>56</sup> As with rule of law and other normative debates, discussion continues around the relationship between SSR and other areas such as DDR and justice sector reform.

## Security sector actors

Notwithstanding the ongoing discussions, the OECD's table in Figure 2 is frequently used to understand possible security actors in different fragile or conflict-affected states, for example, in the Security Council Concept Paper preparing for the first Security Council debate on SSR.<sup>57</sup>

With vast differences between countries, actors can differ depending on many historical, legal, political and cultural factors.<sup>58</sup>



<b>Core security actors</b>	Armed forces; police; gendarmeries; paramilitary forces; presidential guards, intelligence and security services (both military and civilian); coast guards; border guards; customs authorities; and reserve or local security units (civil defence forces, national guards, militias).
<b>Security management and oversight bodies</b>	The executive; national security advisory bodies; legislature and legislative select committees; ministries of defence, internal affairs, foreign affairs; customary and traditional authorities; financial management bodies (finance ministries, budget offices, financial audit and planning units); and civil society organisations (civilian review boards and public complaints commissions).
<b>Justice and law enforcement institutions</b>	The judiciary; justice ministries; prisons; criminal investigation and prosecution services; human rights commissions and ombudsmen; and customary and traditional justice systems.
<b>Non-statutory security forces</b>	Liberation armies; guerrilla armies; private bodyguard units; private security companies; and political party militias.

Figure 2: Security sector actors (OECD)<sup>59</sup>

## SSR activities and principles

The OECD is a key source of guidance on SSR activities globally due to frequent negotiations on overseas development assistance (ODA) and non-ODA eligibility.<sup>60</sup> The OECD list of SSR activities is provided as a reference in Figure 4 (in Annex C). Several expert interviewees emphasised the need to first and foremost see SSR as a set of governance activities, and one said that ‘SSR has lost its governance moorings’.

The principles included in Figure 5 (in Annex C) are published in the UN Secretary General’s SSR report. That report was a horizon scan of 10 years of international experience, and was submitted to and accepted by the Security Council and the General Assembly. Highlight points are:

- The primacy of sovereignty and the need for outsiders to be explicitly invited by state authorities and/or the Security Council (with a similar standard to that established for international electoral assistance) and to avoid imposing external models.
- The need to promote and sustain an environment of meaningful and inclusive national leadership and ownership.<sup>61</sup>
- The ‘striking contrast between the neat, and often normatively driven, formulations of SSR and the messy and contested realities on the ground’.<sup>62</sup>

# Using different language in the same space

## Concepts related and linked to SSR

Some interviewees believe there has been and remains too much attention to language in the international domain. In their experience, instead of illuminating a narrative on whether or not security sector change has occurred in different conflict-affected countries (outcomes), discussions on language ‘conclude in dead ends’. Other interviewees view those discussions as ‘rational and sometimes necessary debates’ reflecting different outlooks between countries and regions, the politics of funding streams (ODA and non-ODA), and the character, orientation and political composition of different international and regional organisations.<sup>63</sup> On one hand, interviewees noted that Australia had contributed to these debates and also provided substantial support to SSR in conflict-affected states for many years. On the other hand, interviewees also recognised that Australian organisations generally use different terminology.

‘Civil-military’ concepts are also used, but generally not to describe relationships between national security sector and civilian actors. Instead they frame issues and cooperation between Australian and other international defence and civilian actors (not police), mostly with a focus on the use of armed force and humanitarian space.<sup>64</sup>

A range of other thematic terms are used and understood in different ways. Some are broad umbrella terms that envelop concepts such as SSR, while others are related terms that intersect with SSR operationally. Umbrella terms mentioned during the interviews included: ‘rule of law’, ‘democratic governance’, ‘peacebuilding’, ‘statebuilding’ and ‘stabilisation.’ Specific terms with more operational meanings that intersect with SSR included: ‘public administration reform’, ‘justice sector reform’, ‘DDR’, ‘armed violence reduction’, ‘trafficking in small arms and light weapons’, ‘women, peace and security’, ‘transitional justice’ and ‘demining’. A glossary of some of these terms is in the AusAID guidance to staff working in fragile and conflict-affected states, with some additional explanations in the APMC and the Australian Council for International Development (ACFID) publication *Same Space—Different Mandates*.<sup>65</sup> One of the lessons in the APMC publication *Partnering for Peace* was that SSR should be part of a comprehensive approach.<sup>66</sup>

## SSR in Australian government discourse

At a country-specific level, some interviewees noted there could be negative perceptions of SSR terminology, for example in the Pacific. The following examples illustrate the use of SSR in Australian official discourse:

- A 2005 Minister for Defence press release mentioned the deployment of an army lieutenant colonel to the Middle East, noting he would join the international team (with United States, British and Canadian counterparts) working on security sector reform.<sup>67</sup>

- In 2008, ACFID called for the government to use the same SSR lens adopted by the OECD in order to rectify weaknesses in Australia's security policy framework.<sup>68</sup>
- The 2009 Defence White Paper referred to Afghanistan's 'security sector' when describing the need to build Afghan institutions and mentor the Afghan National Army.<sup>69</sup>
- In 2007, when Australia asked to participate in the Security Council's first SSR debate, the Australian Ambassador emphasised two examples: the Papua New Guinea request to support its armed forces restructuring, and the Solomon Islands request to assist in law and order and executive policing.<sup>70</sup>
- The 2011 AusAID publication and the 2012 APMC and ACFID publications mentioned in 5.1 above include references to and definitions of SSR (see Figure 3 in Annex C). The 2011 AusAID guidance for staff includes descriptions of the tensions between security and development approaches in settings such as Afghanistan, and explains how SSR can be one element of technical support for peace settlements, as well as in support of Australian troop or police deployments for peacekeeping and peace monitoring.<sup>71</sup>
- During the 2013 General Assembly Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the Australian Ambassador spoke on behalf of Canada, Australia, New Zealand (the CANZ group), and linked professional and accountable security sectors with trust and confidence in judicial and security institutions. He also noted CANZ support to Defence Sector Reform.<sup>72</sup>

## Funding security sector reform

*International development actors are important to peace negotiations [because] agreements typically require international financing to be implemented (e.g. on security sector reform).<sup>73</sup>*

Issues related to the politics of funding have manifestly affected how international actors support national SSR processes. Following an 18-month process, a 2005 OECD-DAC High Level Meeting endorsed directives ‘in particular explicitly to cover improved civilian control over the security system’, and in 2010, DAC Statistical Reporting Directives provided greater clarity on activities in the SSR and peacekeeping fields eligible to be reported as ODA and non-ODA.<sup>74</sup> While the debates that led to these changes recognised the interdependence of security and development, there are significant tensions in these designations, including the risk of rebranding traditional security activities as development.<sup>75</sup> It is often not simple to demarcate areas claimed to be ‘carefully delineated’<sup>76</sup> and excluded from eligible SSR ODA funding, in particular military aid, anti-terrorism activities and peacekeeping. Another concern is that where SSR activities are not ODA-eligible, and therefore not reported, it is more difficult to see the full volume of resources spent on those activities and to evaluate their effectiveness.<sup>77</sup>

Notwithstanding these challenges, funding mechanisms for SSR activities have grown, in part due to the enabling environment provided by the World Bank’s *World Development Report 2011*, the 2011 International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding process, and negotiations on the follow-up framework for the Millennium Development Goals. Pooled funding in capitals (United States, United Kingdom) as well as global and country-specific multi-donor trust funds (MDTFs) have been vehicles for growth in SSR funding. Many MDTFs explicitly combine ODA and non-ODA eligible activities and provide for joint national and international decision-making processes. Some of the growth has also been an extension of the earlier increased use of trust funds to support DDR; a study of 36 DDR processes in 1992–2005 across 29 countries identified that 62 per cent had been supported by World Bank or UNDP-managed MDTFs, with a trend to more MDTFs.<sup>78</sup> A 2011 United States study recommended integrating and implementing DDR and SSR in tandem, ‘ideally with a shared pool of discretionary funding’.<sup>79</sup>

One MDTF example is the UN Peacebuilding Fund, where Australia is the eighth largest donor and has deposited half of its 2015 commitment of US\$20.8 million.<sup>80</sup> For the Peacebuilding Fund, SSR is organised under *implementing peace agreements*, shown in Figure 6 in Annex D. Also in Annex D, Figure 7 shows the growth in funding of SSR activities over the last two years and Figure 8 shows the titles of each SSR project. Activities range from rehabilitating military barracks to supporting an Office of National Security.

Peacebuilding Fund guidelines do not stipulate a breakdown of SSR into specific activities, so projects generally arise from joint national/international discussions at the country level. A 2012 review of Peacebuilding Fund projects identified that SSR projects had grown to constitute 19 per cent of total funding. For those SSR projects, 72 per cent of funding went to hardware (infrastructure, equipment), and only seven per cent to ‘security sector wide’ initiatives such as governance, oversight and management. The review recommended greater investment in national dialogue processes, conflict analysis to establish strategic relationships between security and justice sector reforms, and seeking more ‘grass roots’ or civil society engagement in reform activities.<sup>81</sup>

## The SSR community and its civilian capacity

*SSR is the hardest thing to do with the least amount of success. It is highly political, and therefore incredibly challenging for external actors to have a valuable contribution.*<sup>82</sup>

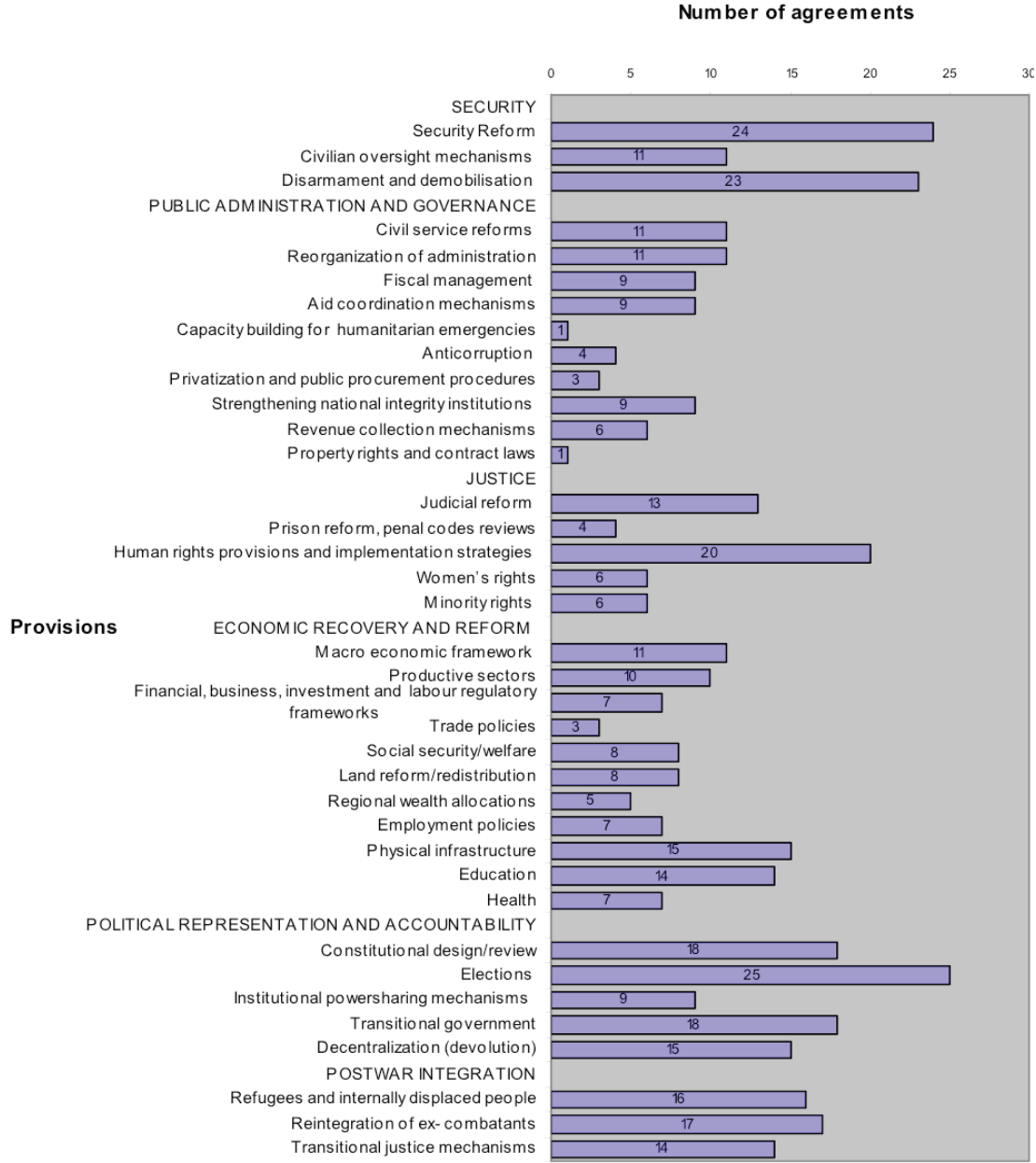
A consistent message in SSR evaluations is that international support for SSR ‘must be flexible, adaptable and tailored to the host country concerned’.<sup>83</sup> In addition to the OECD and UN system capacities that have grown since the formal endorsement of SSR in those organisations, other organisations have also systematically developed SSR policies and specialist capacities. Interviewees from many of these organisations stated there is a good degree of collaboration and partnership between them, and many Australians and internationals have advocated for a stronger Australian role in SSR debates and lessons learned.

Australia’s 2009 Federal Audit of Police Capabilities outlined many international police capacities,<sup>84</sup> and the International Review of Civilian Capacities mapped broader SSR capacities in 2010–2011 (see Annex E). Examples of these capacities include:

- In addition to its strong research agenda, DCAF has now developed an International Security Sector Advisory Team, supporting SSR in conflict-affected states. In the last six years DCAF and partners also initiated an Inter-Parliamentary Forum for Security Sector Governance in South-East Asia.<sup>85</sup>
- The civil society African Security Sector Network (ASSN) has been one of the most vocal proponents of African-led change across the continent’s security actors, and has supported the African Union develop an SSR policy framework. Fundasaun Mahein in Timor-Leste is a civil society actor, seeking ‘to assist in increasing the legitimacy and capacity of the Timorese security sector through citizen participation’.<sup>86</sup>
- In 2009 the United States Department of State, Department of Defense and USAID promulgated joint guidance on SSR, with roles and responsibilities, terminology and guiding principles, and reference to bilateral donor approaches including by the UN, OECD, European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The objective was to bring attention to higher-level governance issues when most focus was on *train and equip* activities. The joint approach also allowed department and agency guidance to incorporate SSR language; for example, in United States military operational guidance for all geographic combatant commands. The policy also went some way to addressing significant whole-of-government challenges, but issues remain (see Annex F). After three years of work, a draft Presidential Policy Directive on Security Sector Assistance was signed in 2013, addressing whole-of-government planning, assessment and evaluation.<sup>87</sup>

As with the case in the United States, and despite the effort since 2005, international SSR experts point to a persistent SSR capacity gap: the lack of known qualified senior and expert individuals who can develop trust with and mentor (not substitute) nationals engaged in the ‘high politics’ of SSR. In addition to having knowledge of the reform of their own national system, the internationals add value by understanding a range of comparative cases that may have relevant lessons to draw on. Setting aside the many potential security sector actors, there is a lack of available civilians who can advise on defence and police reform and governance on the one hand, and the strengthening of Parliament and other oversight institutions on the other.

# Annex A: Frequency of provisions in peace agreements 1989–2006<sup>88</sup>



Annex B: Table of Security Council missions with SSR and related mandates<sup>89</sup>

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
1	1 November 2013	2013	Mandates for peacekeeping operations and field-based political missions																
2	Location/region																		
3	TOTAL # of Mandate components																		
4	# of Mandate components shown here																		
5	Lead department																		
6	Length of the current mandate																		
7	Chapter VII																		
8	SSR: general language (including both police and military)																		
9	Military reform																		
10	Military/security																		
11	Military/security																		
12	Military/security																		
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## Annex C: SSR definitions, activities and principles

Figure 3: Selection of SSR definitions

- In 2001 the **OECD** described SSR as the ‘transformation of the security system’ and offered the following definition: “Security sector reform” is the transformation of the “security system” which includes all the actors, their roles, responsibilities and actions, so that it is managed and operated in a manner that is more consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of good governance, and thus contributes to a well-functioning security framework.’ In 2005, OECD guidance noted, ‘There is room for debate on the breadth of the definition of SSR’.
- In 2007, speaking at the Security Council’s first SSR debate, the **Australian Permanent Representative to the UN** highlighted the UN’s attention to ‘the way in which an appropriately structured, led and motivated security sector can contribute to peace and security’. The **Presidential Statement** that followed noted that security sectors need to be ‘effective’, ‘professional’ and ‘accountable’.
- In 2008 the **UN Secretary-General’s** SSR report noted, ‘The overall goal of SSR is to support States and societies in developing effective, inclusive and accountable security institutions so as to contribute to international peace and security, sustainable development and the enjoyment of human rights by all’.
- In 2009 the **United States government** defined SSR as ‘the set of policies, plans, programs, and activities that a government undertakes to improve the way it provides safety, security, and justice. The overall objective is to provide these services in a way that promotes an effective and legitimate public service that is transparent, accountable to civilian authority, and responsive to the needs of the public’. It then stated, ‘SSR is an umbrella term’ and listed examples of 10 integrated activities.
- In 2011 **AusAID’s** guidance for staff working in fragile and conflict-affected states, Table 2: ‘Key elements of the political settlement’ noted SSR was one of five types of assistance to achieve ‘monopoly on the legitimate use of force/develop shared agreement amongst elites on institutional mechanisms for using force’.
- In 2011 the **World Bank’s** *World Development Report* placed SSR in the category of work to *transform institutions*, to provide ‘citizen security’ through ‘foundational reforms and “best fit” approaches’. It provided four activities that should be approached using ‘phased capacity and accountability in specialised security institutions’.
- In 2012 the **ACMC and ACFID publication** *Same Space—Different Mandates* noted SSR ‘is a multi-disciplinary, holistic and strategic approach to reform of the security institutions of a state including but not limited to armed forces and police, intelligence services, border and coast guards, oversight bodies such as the executive, legislature, ministries of defence, justice and law enforcement bodies, such as the judiciary, the prosecution and prison system and non-state or paramilitary security actors’.



- In 2013 in Resolution 2086 the **Security Council** noted multidimensional peacekeeping missions may: *'Provide support to basic safety and security by assisting national security sector reform programmes, through strategic assistance to develop security sector frameworks, and capacity-building of military, police and other law enforcement institutions in key areas, while upholding the spirit of complete national ownership and true partnership, with a view to building a legitimate, accountable and sustainable security sector, responsive to the needs of the population.'*

Figure 4: Categories of SSR activities (OECD)<sup>90</sup>

<b>Political and Policy Dialogue and Initiatives</b>	Activities aimed at improving civil-security force relations, increasing civilian input into security policy-making, and preparing the terrain for reform. This can include confidence-building activities between civilians and security force personnel.
<b>Armed Forces and Intelligence</b>	Activities aimed at improving governance of the armed forces, the intelligence services, paramilitary forces and other reserve or local defence units that support military functions, provide border security and so on.
<b>Justice and Internal Security Apparatus</b>	Activities involving police functions, prisons, courts, secret services, and civilian internal intelligence agencies.
<b>Non-state Security Forces</b>	Activities involving private security companies and other irregular security bodies which enjoy a degree of public authority and legitimacy that is not derived from the state itself or legal status: political party militias/security forces, local militias, bodyguard units, and so on.
<b>Civil Oversight Mechanisms</b>	Activities involving formal mechanisms – such as the legislature, legislative select committees, auditors general, police commissions, human rights commissions – and informal mechanism – such as civil society ‘watchdog’ organisations, and customary authorities.
<b>Civil Management Bodies</b>	Activities aimed at strengthening functions for financial management, planning and execution; security policy development; personnel management and the like found in finance, defence, internal affairs and justice ministries, president/prime minister’s offices, national security advisory bodies and the like.
<b>Civilian Capacity Building</b>	Activities aimed at general capacity building/education initiatives that do not fit into the civil management and oversight categories, including activities designed to build capacity of civil society groups seeking to analyse and influence security policy and increase public literacy on security issues, academic or other training courses on security issues.
<b>Regional Initiatives</b>	Activities involving the role of foreign affairs ministries/peacemaking initiatives, and formal mechanisms such as defence treaties/pacts, regional security bodies for dealing with defence, criminal, intelligence issues and the like.
<b>Initiatives to Demilitarise Society</b>	Activities in the area of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants, with particular attention for child soldiers, small arms and light weapons and others.

Figure 5: Basic principles to support a national SSR process (UN)<sup>91</sup>

Principle	Explanation
When to undertake SSR	On the basis of a national decision, a Security Council mandate and/or a General Assembly resolution, the Charter of the United Nations and human rights laws and standards.
National ownership	Support must be anchored on national ownership and the commitment of involved States and societies.
Flexible and tailored	UN approach must be flexible and tailored to the country, region and/or specific environment in which reform is taking place, as well as to the different needs of all stakeholders.
Gender-sensitive	Gender-sensitive throughout its planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases. It must also include the reform of recruitment processes and improvement in the delivery of security services to address and prevent sexual and gender-based violence.
Timely	An SSR framework is essential in the planning and implementation of post-conflict activities. Ideally, SSR should begin at the outset of a peace process and should be incorporated into early recovery and development strategies.
Implementation requires a clear strategy	A clearly defined strategy, including the identification of priorities, indicative timelines and partnerships.
Motive, accountability and resources of internationals	Effective SSR is shaped by the integrity of motive, the level of accountability and the amount of resources provided.
Coordinated national and international efforts	Lead national entities and a designated international counterpart should be identified wherever possible.
Monitoring and evaluation	Monitoring and regular evaluation against established principles and specific benchmarks are essential to track and maintain progress in security sector reform.

Annex D: SSR funding over six years—the UN Peacebuilding Fund<sup>92</sup>

Figure 6: UN Peacebuilding Fund: Investments per priority area<sup>93</sup>

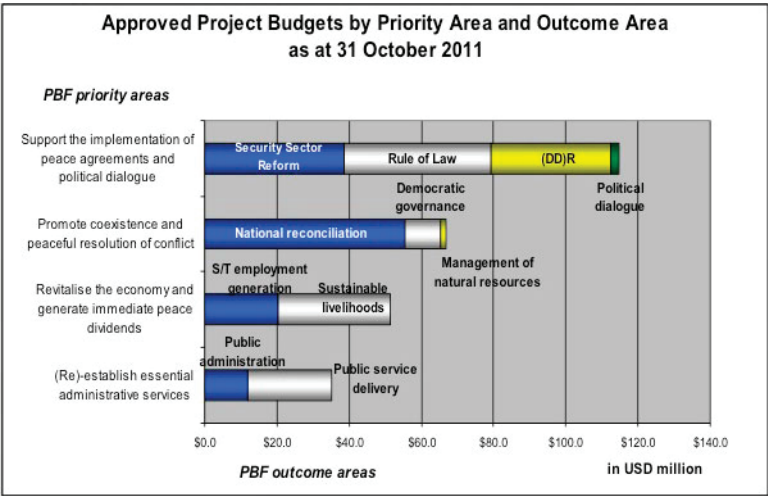


Figure 7: SSR projects by half year, total Peacebuilding Fund contribution 2007–2012

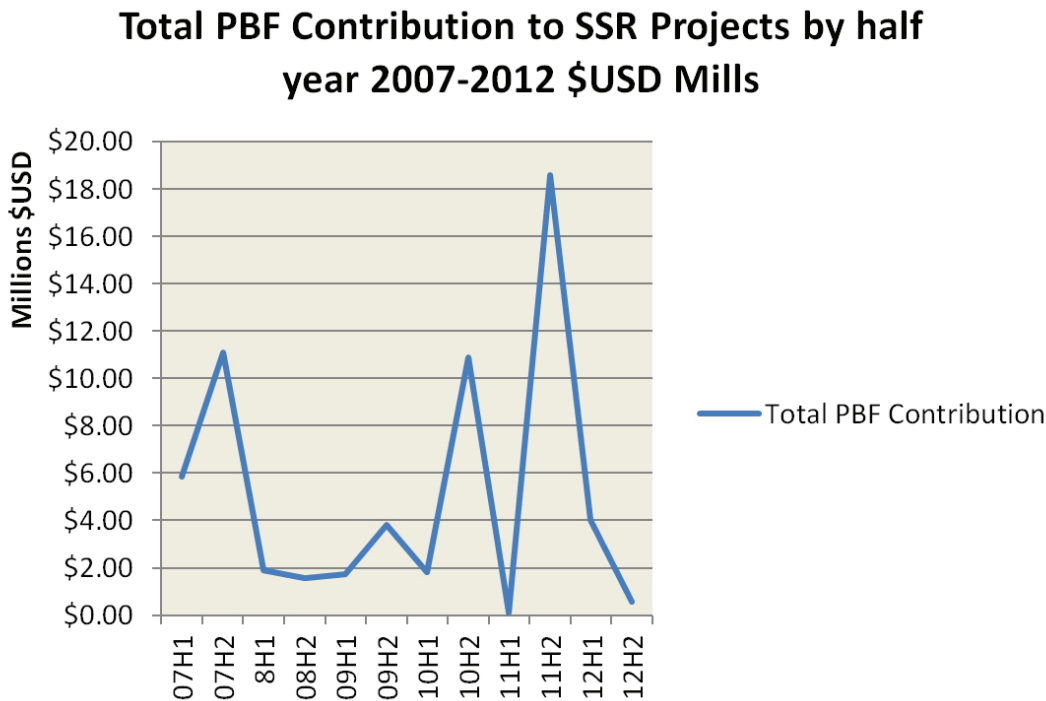


Figure 8: Peacebuilding Fund SSR project titles by funding facility<sup>34</sup>

<b>Funded through the Immediate Response Facility</b>	
Chad	Operational support to the Détachement Intégré de Sécurité (DIS)
Côte d'Ivoire	Projet d'appui au développement d'une stratégie nationale pour la RSS en Cote d'Ivoire
Guinea	Programme conjoint de prévention et réponse aux Violences Basées sur le Genre en Guinée
Guinea	Urgent support project to special forces supporting the electoral process
Sierra Leone	Support to the Government of Sierra Leone Police and the Armed Forces
Sierra Leone	Support to the Sierra Leone Police Public Order Maintenance Capacity and Integrity
Somalia	Quick Impact Police and Public Security Reform Project In the Puntland State of Somalia
<b>Funded through the Peacebuilding and Recovery Facility</b>	
Burundi	Promoting discipline and improving relations between the National Defence Force and the population through morale building of the military corps
Burundi	Rehabilitation of military barracks to lodge members of the National Defence Force (FDN) in order to reduce the presence of soldiers amongst civilians
Burundi	Support to the Burundi National Police to operate as a local security force
CAR	Construction of military barracks and brigades of the National Gendarmerie
Comoros	Réforme du secteur de la sécurité en Union des Comores
Comoros	Restructuration et renforcement des capacités opérationnelles de la Police Nationale
Congo D.R.	Support for the selection, training and deployment of the Congolese National Police (PNC)
Côte d'Ivoire	Appui à la restauration de l'ordre public et de l'autorité de l'Etat
Guinea	Projet d'appui au processus de recensement biométrique des Forces de Défense et de Sécurité
Guinea	Projet d'appui de la mise a la retraite de 4300 militaires
Guinea	Projet de renforcement du contrôle démocratique et civil des Forces de Défense et de Sécurité (FDS) en Guinée
Guinea-Bissau	Military SSR—Support to security and defence sector reform and socio-economic reintegration
Guinea-Bissau	Rehabilitation of Military Barracks
Guinea-Bissau	Strengthening Internal Security and Criminal Justice Systems in Guinea-Bissau
Guinea-Bissau	Support for the Preparatory Conferences for the Defense and Security Sectors within the National Conference process
Liberia	Enhancing the Relationship Between the Police and Civilians in Communities

Sierra Leone	Emergency Support to the Security Sector
Sierra Leone	Improved Public Order Management Capacity
Sierra Leone	Rehabilitation of the Water and Sanitation facilities for the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) barracks in Freetown
Sierra Leone	Support to the Office of National Security

## Annex E: Sub-cluster capacity mapping—Security Sector Reform and governance<sup>95</sup>

<b>Context</b>	Security sector reform (SSR) focuses on the structures, institutions and personnel responsible for national management, provision and oversight of security. Security sector reform aims to enhance effective and accountable security for the state and its people, with full respect for human rights and the rule of law.
<b>United Nations</b>	<p>DPKO supports security sector reform activities in peacekeeping and special political missions and has a dedicated Security Sector Reform Unit in the Office of the Rule of Law and Security Institutions. The unit manages a multi-year security sector reform capacity-building programme and maintains a roster of security sector reform experts. DPKO's Police Division has a Standing Police Capacity to support security sector reform in the law enforcement sector.</p> <p>UNDP works in non-mission contexts when requested by the national government and when funding is available, and often in mission contexts in collaboration with DPKO. UNDP has a dedicated headquarters unit within the Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery to support country teams. DPA does not have dedicated security sector reform capacity, but its Standby Team of Mediation Experts has relevant, rapidly deployable mediation and peace negotiation expertise. OHCHR works to strengthen respect for human rights in the security sector.</p> <p>The United Nations inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force also includes ODA, OSAA, PBSO, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNODC and UN Women.</p>
<b>Regional and multilateral organizations</b>	<p>The EU and OSCE have security sector reform capacity in their field missions and country offices. The OECD-INCAF network develops donor policy in security sector reform. NATO engages in defence sector reform, especially in the Euro-Atlantic region. The AU has a small security sector reform capacity and is developing an AU policy on security sector reform.</p> <p>The WB's public finance management activities are often relevant for security sector reform.</p>
<b>Member States</b>	Member States undergoing security sector reform often receive support from bilateral partners. Support to defence forces (combat training and equipment) and intelligence services are predominantly bilateral activities. France provides security sector reform support via several government ministries. The United Kingdom has a dedicated Security Sector Development Advisory Team and an inter-departmental Stabilisation Unit with security sector reform capacity. The United States of America has diverse security sector reform capacities across its government agencies. Other examples include Canada (Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force), Germany (GIZ), Norway (Ministry of Defence), Poland (border control), Singapore (Singapore Cooperation Programme) and Sweden (Folke Bernadotte Academy roster).
<b>Civil society and others</b>	<p>The African Security Sector Network is a network of civil society organizations, practitioners and research centres that provides security sector reform expertise in Africa. Other African civil society actors with security sector reform capacity include the Institute for Security Studies and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes. DCAF/ISSAT is an international foundation that specialises in security sector reform. The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre's programmes develop the capacities of African and Latin American police and armed forces for peace operations deployment.</p> <p>Rosters with security sector reform capacity include AFDEM (police), CANADEM (police, defence, border) and NORDEM (police, intelligence, border).</p> <p>For-profit consultancy companies with relevant capacity in public sector reform include AEGIS, Control Risks, Geopolicity and IODA.</p>

Capacity providers (non-exhaustive list)	
United Nations	DPA, DPKO, ODA, OHCHR, OSAA, PBSO, UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNODC, UN Women
Regional and multilateral organizations	AU, EU, NATO, OECD-INCAF, OSCE, WB
Member States	Most Member States; Canada, France, Germany, Norway, Poland, Singapore, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States of America
Civil society and others	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, African Security Sector Network, AEGIS, AFDEM, Amnesty International, Association for the Prevention of Torture, CANADEM, Centre for Civil-Military Relations, Changemaker, Conciliation Resources, Control Risks, DCAF/ISSAT, Geopolicity, IODA, Institute for Security Studies, Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos y Políticas Públicas, NORDEM, Pearson Peacekeeping Centre



## Annex F: The United States Center for Civil-Military Relations

The Center for Civil-Military Relations at the US Naval Post-Graduate School (NPS) in Monterey, California was established in 1994 to assist newly emerging democracies address civilian-military challenges of the post-Cold War era. Over two decades it has evolved and now provides support to defense reform and institution building, improving peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations and civil-military responses to combating terrorism. Its primary focus is the global development of democratic defense management norms to improve the legitimacy and effectiveness of defense and security institutions.

Its activities are sponsored by the Department of State, the Department of Defense, US Combatant and Component Commands, the Joint Staff, US Navy and US Army and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. It is able to leverage academic staff from NPS in designing its programs and its project teams may typically include multinational experts, academics, retired high-ranking military officers and civilian experts drawn from within and outside of government.

It has five regional programs, each with tailored priorities: Africa, Asia-Pacific, Europe, Latin America, Middle East and Central Asia. Underscoring these are nine functional programs which cover all aspects of the relationship between elected civilians and security institutions (armed forces, police forces and intelligence agencies). These include the Civil-Military Education Program, the Combating Terrorism Fellowship Program, the Global Peace Operations Initiative (to help countries develop contributions toward UN and regional peacekeeping capabilities), Defense Institution Building, the Defense Institution Reform Initiative, an International Defense Acquisition Resource Management program, Intelligence and Democracy, the Center for Stabilization and Reconstruction Studies (including peacebuilding and humanitarian aspects), the Multinational Exercise Program which delivers exercise planning, design and control, and an International Defense Transformation Program (looking at national security in the context of collective security arrangements).

While the Center has a broad range of responsibilities and versatile funding streams it manages these with a small, but deeply experienced permanent staff and relies heavily on expert rosters and the academic resources of the NPS and beyond to deal with surge activities such as workshops, seminars and training courses, many of which involve foreign students. Additionally, the Center supports more than 20 countries abroad with different permutations of the above products where the point of departure in terms of political development (and conflict) is quite different; for example, Cambodia, Nepal, Tajikistan and Libya to name a few.

## Annex G: Abbreviations

ACFID	Australian Council for International Development
ACMC	Australian Civil-Military Centre
ADF	Australian Defence Force
AFP	Australian Federal Police
ASSN	African Security Sector Network
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CANZ	Canada, Australia and New Zealand Group, UN
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DCAF	Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations, UN
MDTF	Multi-Donor Trust Fund
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECD-DAC	OECD-Development Assistance Committee
PBF	Peacebuilding Fund, UN
PKO	Peacekeeping Operation, UN
SPM	Special Political Mission, UN
SSR	Security Sector Reform
USAID	US Agency for International Development

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- 46 UN 2008, Report of the Secretary-General, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform*, A/62/659-S/2008/39; UN Security Council 2013, *Role of the Security Council in supporting security sector reform*, S/PRST/2008/14 (2008); UN, *Security Council Resolution 2086*.
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- 48 This change is shifting what was described as the UN tending ‘to be a secondary [SSR] player compared to bilateral actors’. Woodhouse 2010, *Review of Current Institutional Arrangements in Priority Peacebuilding Areas*, p. 11. The review compared UN SSR arrangements along with five other areas of civilian capacity.
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- 50 International Peace Institute 2012, *UN Peacekeeping Transitions: Perspectives from Member States*.
- 51 Specifically to ‘Support the development of networks of practitioners and subregional frameworks and mechanisms to address challenges related to security sector reform, transnational organized crime, illicit trafficking and terrorism’. UN 2012, *Field Mission Security Council Mandates Table*, Department of Political Affairs.
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- 53 See: UN 2011, *Review of arrangements for funding and backstopping special political missions*, A/66/340, Figure 1, p. 6, and Annex; Center on International Cooperation 2011, *Annual Review of Political Missions 2011*; Mexico’s representative noted that the ‘whopping’ increase had occurred ‘while the Organization’s overall costs had remained “more or less constant in real terms”’ in UN 2012, Media, *Budget Committee takes up \$567 million proposal to finance 33 special political missions*, GA/AB/4054, 14 December.
- 54 UN 2013, *Security Council Resolution on Libya (2095)*; in 2013, the division included 60 staff.
- 55 The language in peace agreements shows how semantic such a distinction can be.
- 56 Security Council Report 2007, *Update Report: Security Sector Reform*.
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- 58 For example: the nature of executive and legislative powers and their separation across different Presidential and Parliamentary systems; a colonial heritage and pre-existing formal and informal security structures responsible for internal and external security; the legal system (civil, customary, informal); and, in conflict-affected states, the past conflict and disposition of armed groups, and legacies of defence and police force involvement in politics. On legacies, see: Linz and Stepan 1996, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, Chapter 5.
- 59 OECD 2005, *Security System Reform and Governance*, pp. 20–21.
- 60 See: OECD, 'Official development assistance—definition and coverage', <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/officialdevelopmentassistance/definitionandcoverage.htm> (accessed 14 February 2013).
- 61 See, for example: strong language on this issue in Security Sector Reform Unit, DPKO 2011, *African Perspectives on Security Sector Reform: Final Report*, Co-chaired by Permanent Missions of Nigeria and South Africa and the UN.
- 62 Hutchful 2009, *Security Sector Reform Provisions in Peace Agreements*, p. 9.
- 63 Over-arching concepts such as SSR may also be more prone to broader debate and contestation precisely because of their scope, their need to adapt to new experiences in the field, and their intersection with concepts such as justice sector reform, rule of law and human rights. Equally, in order to be relevant at the country level, high levels of adaptation and contextualisation have been required of all those concepts and related principles.
- 64 See: Agnew 2012, *Building Trust: Civil-Military Relations in Australia*; McCauley 2011, *Civil-Military Commentary 4/2011: Civil-Military vocabulary—An uncommon language*; APMC and ACFID 2012, *Same Space—Different Mandates*, Chapter 2.
- 65 AusAID 2011, *Framework for Working in Fragile and Conflict-affected States*, pp. 90–94; APMC and ACFID 2012, *Same Space – Different Mandates*, pp. 53–56. Note, on 1 November 2013, AusAID was integrated into the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and ceased to exist as an executive agency. DFAT now administers the Australian aid program.
- 66 APMC 2012, *Partnering for Peace*, pp. 7, 14, 26.
- 67 Department of Defence 2005, Media Release 125/05: 'ADF Officer joins team working on Middle East Peace Process'.
- 68 O'Callaghan 2008, 'Defence's Role in Homeland Security/Whole of Government Functions', email contribution to White Paper consultation, ACFID.
- 69 Department of Defence 2009, *Defence White Paper 2009—Defending Australia in the Asia-Pacific Century: Force 2030*, p. 57.



- 70 Hill 2007, Australia's Permanent Representative, Speech to the Security Council on the Role of the Security Council in supporting security sector reform, Verbatim Record, S/PV.5632 (Resumption 1).
- 71 See: AusAID 2011, *Framework for working in fragile and conflict-affected states: Guidance for staff*, pp. 23, 34, 36, 39, 54; for some language see: Figure 4 (Annex D); Office of Development Effectiveness 2012, *Building on Local Strengths: Evaluation of Australian Law and Justice Assistance*; ACMC 2012, *Partnering for Peace*.
- 72 Quinlan 2013, Ambassador, *Statement to the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations*, on behalf of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.
- 73 Suhrke, Wimpelmann and Dawes 2007, *Peace Processes and Statebuilding: Economic and Institutional Provisions of Peace Agreements*, p. 57.
- 74 See: OECD 2005, *Conflict prevention and peacebuilding: What counts as ODA?*; OECD 2010, DAC Statistical Reporting Directives, DCD/DAC(2010)40/REV1, pp. 12–14; five-year OECD data on SSR funding (purpose code 15210) can be found at <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=DACSECTOR#> (accessed 14 February 2013).
- 75 See: Cameron 2013, 'Aid money could go to defence'.
- 76 See: OECD, 'Official development assistance—definition and coverage'.
- 77 Pachon 2012, *Financing Security Sector Reform: A Review of Official Development Assistance Data*, SSR Issue Paper No. 4
- 78 Ball and Hendrickson 2005, *Review of International Financing Arrangements for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: Phase 1 Report*, p. 2.
- 79 Laporte-Oshiro 2011, *Three Lessons from U.S. Experience with DDR and SSR*, p. 4.
- 80 UN Multi-donor Trust Fund website, [http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/donor/00055?bar\\_metric=commitment](http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/donor/00055?bar_metric=commitment)
- 81 UN 2012, *Review of the Peacebuilding Fund: Thematic review of SSR and Peacebuilding*.
- 82 Quote from interviewee, February 2013.
- 83 UN 2012, *Report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations*, A/66/19, paragraph 142.
- 84 Beale 2009, *New Realities: National Policing in the 21st Century*, Appendix 9.
- 85 See respectively: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, The International Security Sector Advisory Team website at <http://issat.dcaf.ch>; The Inter-parliamentary Forum on Security Sector Governance in Southeast Asia website at <http://ipf-ssg-sea.net>; and, DCAF 2011, Factsheet: *Inter-Parliamentary Forum for Security Sector Governance in South-East Asia*.

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- 87 See: US Agency for International Development, US Department of Defense, US Department of State 2009, *Security Sector Reform* (2009); Hermesmeyer 2010, *Institutionalizing Security Sector Reform*, United States Institute of Peace, for a survey of the issues in preparing the Presidential Policy Directive.
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- 89 This table shows peacekeeping operations and field-based special political missions with explicit or implicit SSR mandates at November 2012; 16/31 missions and half the possible mandate components/ areas are shown; 'y' for yes replaces the full mandate resolution in the original; see the full database at UN 2012, *Field Mission Security Council Mandates Table*, available at <http://www.un.org/en/sc/programme/>.
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- 91 UN 2008, Report of the Secretary-General, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform*, A/62/659-S/2008/39, Section VI; see also the five principles explained in OECD 2005, *Security System Reform and Governance*, pp. 22–23; see: Section 1 dedicated to SSR principles in OECD 2007, *DAC Handbook on Security System Reform*.
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